6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization. Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

524 also made miniature travois, parfleches, and other containers for use in playing at moving camp. They tied the luggage on the travois and attached the travois to a long forked stick. This stick played the role of the travois horse. The sharp lower end was pushed into the ground to hold up the travois when camp was "on the move." A doll rode in the fork of the stick like a woman astride her travois horse.[8]

Children made other crafts solely for their own amusement. In summer they pulled long strands of tough "earring grass" and wove them into little cups and baskets. In fall, when the leaves were changing colors, little girls collected cottonwood leaves and folded and tore them into the form of little tipis. They placed the brightly colored "tipis" in a circle and imagined them to be a great sun dance encampment of painted lodges. In early winter girls gathered silverberries, boiled them, and strung their gray seeds on sinew cords for necklaces.

526 Occasionally girls played a kind of crack-the-whip. Seven or eight girls formed a line, each girl holding on to the one in front of her by the waist. As the leader walked along she sang "Skunk with no hair on the backbone." Then she ran and tried to swing the line so that she could turn and tag the last girl in line. The girl at the back of the line could not let go of the one in front of her, but she could duck or move her body to avoid the outstretched hand of the leader. If this girl was tagged, she became the leader, and the girl in front of her became the last one in line.

Boys' play was both more active and more varied. Boys played at mimic hunting and warfare. When there was plenty of fresh meat in camp after a buffalo hunt, a group of boys tied a piece of meat to a long rawhide rope. One of them dragged the meat along the ground while the others ran after him with their bows and arrows, shooting at the meat. From time to time the lead boy stopped and pawed the ground with his feet, imitating the actions of a buffalo bull. Then he swung the meat in a circle around his head while the other boys continued to shoot at it.

[8] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 225-27.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

If a boy was accidentally hit by a blunt-headed arrow, he fell down groaning, and the other boys squeezed the juices from weeds and pretended to doctor him.[4]

In winter, boys hunted rabbits; in early summer, gophers and birds. When hawks were hatched in June or July, boys took the baby birds from their nests. They made a woven cage of willow withes about eighteen inches in diameter and hemispherical in shape. Sometimes they kept the hawks in the cage all winter, feeding them on gophers and other small animals. When camp was moved, the hawk cage was placed on top of a travois load. The next spring, boys used the hawk feathers for fletching their arrows.

In spring, boys played the "clay war game." They went to a river bank where there was plenty of soft, wet clay. Each boy cut a willow stick about six feet long. They divided into two groups of equal numbers. Each group made a supply of clay balls about two inches in diameter. Then the opposing groups faced each other about seventy-five yards apart. The object of the game was to fit a ball of wet clay to the end of the willow rod and swing it with such force that the pellet flew through the air and hit one of the opponents. Older men who played this game in their boyhood said the pellets traveled "like bullets" and "they sure hurt if they hit you."

At the summer sun dance encampment boys held another throwing contest. Each boy cut himself a willow rod a little thicker than a lead pencil and a little over two feet long. He peeled the bark off and hardened the stick in a fire. These sticks were thrown for distance, the stick sliding along the ground as far as possible. Each boy held the back of his stick between his thumb and two fingers. Informants claimed some boys could make one of these "sliding sticks" travel about one hundred yards. The boy who threw his stick the farthest took all the sticks of his competitors. In a variant of this game, boys threw their sliding sticks toward a distant stake placed in the ground. The one whose stick came to rest nearest the stake was the winner.

[4] Joseph K. Dixon, *The Vanishing Race*, 111.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 Boys bet arrows on another throwing contest called "humpies." 525 The missile was a section of willow branch with a piece of the trunk or larger branch attached to it. The boy who could throw this piece of wood the greatest distance was the winner.

526 Archery contests were popular and consumed much of the boys' playtime. One contest, usually held in spring, consisted of shooting at an arrow placed upright in the ground below the crest of a hill from a distance of about fifty yards. The boy whose arrow was closest to the target won the arrows of his rivals. Another archery competition, known as "walking arrow shooting," was begun by one boy shooting an arrow and all the others using it as a target. They did not return to their starting place, but, instead, a second target arrow was shot from the site of [525] the first target and the contestants shot again. Again arrows were bet on each shot, with the understanding that the winner took all.

The winner of a stationary target contest took the arrows he had won and shot them at a moving target. This was a packet of buckbrush about five inches long tied with rawhide cord. He threw the target into the air, raised his bow, and shot before the buckbrush dropped to the ground. Each arrow that failed to hit the target was returned to its original owner.

The period of the summer encampment, when all the boys of the tribe were together, was a specially active time for them. About sunset two groups of boys sat down opposite one another. A large flat stone was placed on the ground in front of each group. The boys spat on the stone, placed a hot coal from a fire on top of it, then hit the coal a solid whack with a stone maul. This made a report like the crack of a gun. It was important to keep the big rock moist with saliva, because a dry rock would not make as loud a report as a wet one. The only object of this contest was to see which group of boys could make the loudest noise. This was simply called the "fire game."

Wrestling also was popular in the summer encampment. Sometimes all the boys living in tipis on the south side of the camp circle challenged the boys living on the north side of the circle. The leader of one group called upon a certain lad from the other

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to come out and wrestle any member of his side that boy might choose. The challenged boy stepped forward and pulled the fellow he wished to wrestle to his feet by the hair of his head. They struggled until one of them was knocked off his feet. Wrestling continued until one boy defeated four successive opponents. Then all the boys of both sides joined in a general melee. They tried to strike members of the opposite side by kicking backwards like horses. One old informant recalled, "If you got kicked in the thigh, you really knew it."

Winter brought an end to fair-weather games and sports, as well as to swimming in the rivers or lakes near camp, all of which Blackfoot children loved. But boys and girls had no less fun on the snowy hills and ice-covered rivers near their winter camps. Coasting down the steep slopes and out on the valley floor was always popular. Girls rode on raw buffalo hides. It is said that their mothers watched these hides closely. If a girl returned home with a hide that had become worn soft, her mother took it from her to cut up for moccasin soles or rawhide rope. Boys used cleverly made sleds with five to ten buffalo rib-bone runners. The ribs were separated from the backbone and reassembled in exactly the same order. They were tied together tightly at each end by a rawhide rope that wound around a cross-piece of split willow. The seat was a piece of the leg skin of a buffalo, tied at each end to the willow crossbars. A buffalo-tail ornament was sewed or tied to the rear of the seat. A rawhide rope, tied to the front end, served to pull the sled uphill and to guide it in sliding down. Before riding on the sled, the owner pulled it around in the snow until the runners were coated with ice. In coasting, the boy sat on the hide seat, leaned well back, and balanced his weight by extending his legs forward and upward at an angle. He held the rawhide rope in his hands and jerked it to one side if he wished to turn his sled. The buffalo-tail decoration trailed behind, flopping crazily in the breeze.

Sometimes boys tried to see who could coast the greatest distance down the slope and into the valley. At other times, when the snow was well packed on the ground, they pushed their

526 riderless sleds down the slope to see which one could travel the greatest distance. Sometimes, too, a group of boys and girls of about the same age played "hunting the buffalo." First a group of girls started coasting downhill on buffalo hides. They were the buffalo. Then boys, representing hunters, followed on their sleds. When all piled up at the bottom of the hill, each boy would poke a girl in the pit of the stomach and shout, "I kill you now."

There were several other children's games played in snow. The children tried to see who could hop the farthest on one leg in deep snow. In another contest, boys on one side tossed a small boy from the other side in a buffalo robe or blanket. They tried to toss him so high he would cry out that he had had enough. If they could make him do that, they won; if they could not, the other side was declared the winner. A variation of that game was one in which boys of one side held a buffalo robe stretched tightly, on which a small boy of the other side stood. At the same time a boy on the ground took a deep breath and repeated the sound "tups, tups, tups." If the boy fell off the shaky buffalo robe before the other one was out of breath, his side lost. If he remained standing after the other boy lost his breath, his side won.

524 Boys spun tops on the snow or ice. Each boy had a birchwood top about two and one-half inches high, tapering from a diameter of one and one-half inches above to a point at the base. He started his top spinning with a quick twist of the wrist and kept it turning by stroking it occasionally with the deerskin lashes of a willow-handled whip. Tops were spun on hard-trampled snow or, more often, on a thin covering of snow on the river ice.

A favorite top game was played on a circular track of packed snow about twenty feet in diameter. At intervals, little cross trenches were dug in the snow. Two boys tried to see which of them could spin his top the greatest distance around the circle. It required considerable skill to whip the moving top so that it would jump one of the trenches and keep spinning after it landed

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

on the other side of it. The winner took the loser's top as a forfeit. 524

Another top game was played on smooth river ice, substituting round stones about the size of a man's fist for the wooden tops. Two boys started their stones spinning rapidly, then whipped them together as hard as they could. The boy whose stone cracked the other one or continued to spin the longest after the collision was the winner.

When it was snowing, boys and girls enjoyed sliding on the river ice. They ran and, as they began to slide, started to repeat the phrase, "Man, it's sure true." They tried to say this phrase (in Blackfoot, of course) as many times as they could before they came to a stop. When there was snow on the river ice, girls cleared a long path in a large oval. Sometimes it followed the river around a bend and back. Then the best "skater" started sliding over the ice on moccasined feet. The others fell in behind. Round and round they skated, vying with one another to see who could go the fastest. 526

On clear, cold, moonlight nights boys and girls gathered on the river. Boys sat on their rib-bone sleds and the girls pulled them over the ice. At other times boys broke off chunks of ice or sat on old metal frying pans while they held the girls' dresses and were pulled about on the river ice. Then boys took turns pulling the girls.[5]

As boys and girls grew into teen-agers, they gave up children's amusements, but they did not abandon their love of sports. Young men and women played a kind of shinny, called "batting ours," with a hair-stuffed, skin-covered ball about the size of a baseball and curved sticks of wild cherry. On a field of play more than one hundred yards long there was a goal at each end marked by upright stakes about four feet apart. There were usually ten to fifteen persons on each side. To start the contest, the ball was tossed into the air at midfield, and play continued [883]

[5] John C. Ewers, "Some Winter Sports of Blackfoot Indian Children," *The Masterkey*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, 180–87.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 until one side succeeded in hitting the ball between the goal posts defended by their opponents. It was a fast, rough game. Sometimes the teams struggled for hours, hitting the ball all over the field before a goal was scored. Boys sometimes took advantage of this game to do a bit of playful flirting with the girl contestants. Food was prepared before the game. At game's end it was served to members of the winning team.

Another teen-agers' ball game played by both sexes together or by girls only was known as the "Cree Women's game." The players stood in a circle about twenty feet in diameter. One of them threw a hair-stuffed ball, a little larger than the one used in the shinny game, toward a player on the opposite side of the circle, who hit it back with his or her fists. The object was to keep the ball in the air. As soon as it fell to the ground all the players scrambled for it, trying to pick it up and put it back in play as quickly as possible. This primitive volleyball game demanded both speed and agility of those who played it well.

524 Mature women preferred less strenuous and more sedentary games. The "travois game" was their favorite. It was played by two women, seated opposite each other, with five flat pieces of buffalo bone, each about six inches long and three-fourths of an inch wide and tapering to blunt ends. Four of these bones were marked on one side with meandering, incised lines, called "snakes." The fifth bone bore incised bands near each end. To start the game one woman cast the four snake-marked bones from a hollow shank-bone shaker on the ground or a blanket. If all four bones landed snake-side up, she was declared the winner. However, that rarely happened. If one or more of the bones remained plain-side up, the player was allowed eight attempts to turn them all snake-side up by casting the fifth bone at them spear fashion. Then a count was kept of the upturned snake-marked bones and the opponent took her turn. When one of the players gained a point total agreed upon in advance, she won the game.

525 When two expert players matched their skill and luck in the "travois game," they usually were surrounded by men and

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Both contestants and onlookers bet on the outcome. The stakes were horses, robes, guns, and even the clothing on their backs. Some heavy betters lost everything they owned.[8]

The men's societies also competed in the wheel game. One society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If he accepted the tobacco, his society accepted the challenge also. If he feared the skill of the rival society at this game, he might return the tobacco to the challengers. They then presented the tobacco as a gift to the sun.

The playing field was a level stretch of ground about thirty feet long, with a log placed across the course at each end. Before the game began, members of each society gathered around one of the logs and sang their ritual songs. Each society carefully selected as its representative one of its members who possessed an outstanding war record and who was adept at this game.

The wheel used as a moving target in this game was a small hoop, about three inches in diameter, made from the fire-hardened neck cord of a buffalo. Inside the hoop were five or more spokes of rawhide cord and a small opening in the center. The spokes were strung with beads, a different color being used for each spoke, and each color representing a different kind or color of horse (red for sorrel, copper for bay, yellow for buckskin, white, and black). Each contestant carried an arrow-like pole about three feet long with a metal head and feathering.

Spectators lined the sides of the course, many of them betting on the outcome of the contest. They were silent as the two players stepped on the course. Each of these contestants raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each man then declared his target on the wheel in terms of his own war experience. One might call out, "I took a white horse from the Flatheads. I shall

[8] Thompson, *Narrative*, 360-61. A century and a half later this is still a popular gambling game among the Blackfoot Indians. It is now commonly referred to as "the stick game."

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

shoot for the white beads." The other might say, "I took a sorrel horse from the Crows. I shoot for the red beads." If a player lied in proclaiming his coup, he would surely lose. 526

The players agreed between themselves which of them was to roll the hoop. If they couldn't agree, the one with the better war record was given his choice. Some men preferred to roll the wheel so they could know its course and speed. Others preferred to let their opponent roll the hoop so they could concentrate upon casting their pole. Before rolling, each man spat upon the head of his pole. The roller then lifted the wheel to the sun and rolled it toward the log at the far end of the course. Both men ran after it and hurled their weapons before the hoop struck the log. If one man pierced the center of the hoop with his pole, he won. If neither pole hit the center, that man won whose pole was in contact with the colored beads of his choice when the wheel stopped after rebounding from the log barrier. The game continued until one player either pierced the center hole of the wheel or scored his point. Usually it was not necessary to roll the wheel more than twice. Judges representing each society were stationed at both ends of the course to determine the winner.

Some young men played this hoop-and-pole game informally as a means of gambling. In these contests there were no recountings of war exploits or prayers to the sun before rolling the wheel. The players merely declared their targets. [525]

Boys played this game with a larger wheel for a target. It was a sarvis-berry-wood hoop with a rawhide webbing inside and a small hole in the center which the boys called "the belly button." The blunt-ended poles were as long as the players could reach with outstretched arms. Boys pretended they were lancing buffalo when they threw their poles. They called it the "bull game." Certainly hurling poles at a moving target was good training for the future hunter and warrior.

The Blackfoot Indians look upon the hoop-and-pole game as a very old one. They claim that Napi once played it against a Kutenai on Oldman River. The stakes were control of the buffalo. 526 773

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 [773] According to the legend, Napi was the winner, and "that is why there were no buffalo west of the Rockies."[9]

Foot racing was another popular sport among boys and young men. Boys who could run faster than their playmates were proud 526 of this accomplishment. More formal foot races were run be- 561 tween young men of the men's societies during summer encampments. Each society selected its fastest runner. Clad only in moccasins and breechclouts, they ran a course of half a mile or more. The challenged society had the right to determine the distance to be run.

541 Most exciting of the series of contests between men's societies 561 during the summer encampments was horse racing. The horse entered by each society had to belong to one of its members. The entries were determined in secret trials held some distance from the camp by each society. Jockeys usually were relatives of the owners—light, adolescent boys who were smart, expert riders. They rode bareback with only a war bridle and whip to control their mounts. The jockeys wore only breechclouts and tied their hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces.

Presenting a challenge to an intersociety horse race followed a formal procedure. The challenging society selected one of its most successful warriors, who dressed just as he had when he had won a signal war honor and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He mounted, rode around the camp circle to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his war song, lifted his gun, and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired into the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy and I scalped him. You aren't going to scalp me." Later that day delegations from the two societies met to decide upon the time and the details of the race.

541 These were usually match races run over a level stretch of plains near the encampment. Generally the course was about

[9] *Ibid.*, 359.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Tools, utensils, and crafts media—Continued
- Fuel (dung). 237
- Fly brushes (tail on stick). 412
- Glue, used in arrow making (boiled phalins). 415
- Skin softening agents (brains, fat, and liver).
- Thread (sinew, occasionally rawhide).
- Pipe-polishing medium (fat).
- Paint-mixing medium (fat).
- Paint brushes (hip bone or shoulder blade).
- Quill flattener (horn).
- Tool for dehairing rope, (skull).

Riding and transport gear:
- Frame-saddle covering (rawhide). 237
- Pad-saddle covering (soft skin). 492
- Pad-saddle stuffing (hair).
- Saddle-rigging straps (rawhide).
- Stirrup coverings (scrotum or rawhide).
- Martingales, simple form (rawhide).
- Cruppers, simple form (rawhide).
- Parfleches (rawhide).
- Rectangular saddlebags (rawhide). 237
- Cylindrical saddlebags (rawhide). 415
- Dougle-bags (rawhide).
- "Gros Ventres bags" (soft skin).
- Tobacco pouches (calfskin).
- Berry bags (unborn calfskin).
- Bridles (rawhide or hair).
- Honda ring (horn). 237
- Hackamores (rawhide). 492
- Lariats (rawhide).
- Picket ropes (rawhide).
- Hobbles (rawhide).
- Saddle blankets (skin or robe).
- Saddle housings (robe).
- Travois hitches (rawhide).
- Pole hitches (rawhide).
- Miscellaneous tie strings (rawhide).
- Horse blankets (robe, or top of old lodge).
- Horse-watering troughs (rawhide).
- Horseshoes (rawhide).

Recreational equipment:
- Boys' sleds (rib runners, skin seat). 237
- Girls' sleds (large pieces rawhide). [493]
- Ball stuffing (hair). [524]
- Hoop and pole game hoop netting (rawhide). [526]

Ceremonial and religious paraphernalia:
- Sun Dance altars (skull).
- Bindings for Sun Dance lodge rafters (strips of hide with hair). 237
- Rattles (hoofs and rawhide). 796
- Horse masks (skin and horn).
- Winding sheets for dead (skin or robe).
- Beaver bundle headdress (hide with hair).
- Matoki (Woman's Society) headdresses (hide with hair).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

INTERSOCIETY RACES

At the Sun Dance encampment in late summer there was keen competition between the various Blackfoot men's societies in games and sports. These included the hoop and pole game, the hand or stick game, foot racing, and horse racing. Although there was no established order for these competitions the horse race generally came late in the series. If, for example, members of one society lost to another in a hand game one evening, they might challenge the winning society to a horse race the following day. Detailed descriptions by five informants (both Piegan and Blood) revealed that the challenge was issued according to a set procedure. The society wishing to make the challenge selected one of its members who had been successful in war. He dressed just as he had dressed when he counted coup on an enemy and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He made a round of the camp on horseback, rode up to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his personal war song, lifted his gun and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader, upon hearing the challenge, rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired his weapon in the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy, knocked him down and scalped him. You are not going to scalp me." The challenger then circled the camp again, stopping at the lodge of the leader of his society to formally report the acceptance of his challenge.

The challenge generally was issued early in the morning. Later that day the leader of the challenged society called a meeting of its members. They chose a delegation to visit the leader of the challenging society in his lodge. At this meeting between leaders of the two societies there generally was a great deal of joking and bantering back and forth before they settled down to the business of discussing detailed plans for the race. Then they decided upon the location and distance of the course, time of the race, the horses to be run, and the starters and judges.

Intersociety races were almost always match races, one horse entered by each society. Weasel Tail recalled one race in which each society agreed to enter two horses with the understanding that the winning horse would win all the bets. The course usually was a fairly level stretch of plain near the encampment, permitting the running of the race on a straightway. However, occasions were remembered when no straight course was convenient to the camp, in which case the race was run from the starting point around a low distant hill and back to the starting point again. In that case two judges, one man from each competing society, were stationed on top of the hill to see that neither jockey took an unfair advantage of the other while rounding

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

necessary to infer such influence to explain the Indians' preference for long races. Endurance was a quality the Plains Indians required of their war and hunting horses. It should not seem strange that they expected the same attribute of their race horses. Consequently Plains Indian horse races were tests of the competing horses' endurance rather than their sprinting ability. As Ferris noted of Flathead horse races, they "generally terminate[d] in favor of bottom rather than speed" (Ferris, 1940, pp. 95–96).

HORSE SYMBOLISM IN INTERSOCIETY HOOP AND POLE GAMES

The series of competitions between rival Blackfoot men's societies during the Sun Dance encampment included hoop and pole games in which horse symbolism played a prominent role. One society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If the challenged society feared the prowess of the other at this game their leader sent the tobacco back and the challengers presented it as a gift to the sun. If the tobacco was accepted the challenge was also.

The game was played on a level stretch of ground about 30 feet long, across each end of which a log was placed at right angles to the length of the course. Before game time members of one society gathered around the log at one end of the course and sang their ceremonial songs. Men of the other society sang around the other log. Each society selected a member with a brilliant war record who was especially adept at this game to represent it.

The hoop used in intersociety contests was fashioned of the neck cord of a buffalo, burnt and shrunk to make it hard. It was about 3 inches in diameter, with 5 or more spokes and an open center. Each spoke was strung with a different color of large necklace beads. Each color represented a different-colored horse. A red bead symbolized a sorrel, white a white, black a black, copper a bay, yellow a buckskin, etc. The poles were of arrow form with metal heads and feathering, but considerably longer than the war or hunting arrow shot from a bow. On plate 13, *a*, is shown a North Piegan hoop (3.2 inches in diameter) and two poles (34.2 inches long), collected in 1901 (cat. No. 69351, Chicago Mus. Nat. History). My Blood informant, Heavy Head, owned a similar set, made ca. 1907.

The spectators, many of whom had bet on the outcome of the play, lined the sides of the course. They were silent as the two players stepped upon the course. Each competitor (usually one man represented each society, although by mutual agreement each society might enter two men) in turn raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each con-

[See category 526, p. 358-L--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

testant then verbally declared his target on the hoop in terms of his own past war deeds. One might call out, "I took a white horse from the Flathead. I shall shoot for the white beads." The other might declare, "I took a sorrel horse from the Crow. I shoot for the red beads." It was thought that if a player lied in declaring his coup he would surely lose.

Generally the players agreed upon which of them was to roll the hoop. Some men preferred to roll it so they would have a better knowledge of its speed and course. Others preferred to let their opponent roll the hoop and concentrated their attention upon throwing the pole with accuracy. If the players couldn't agree upon which was to roll the hoop, the one with the better war record was given his choice. Before rolling, each man spat upon the head of his arrow. Then the roller lifted the hoop to the sun and rolled it toward the log at the far end of the course. Both men ran after it and cast their poles before the hoop struck the log. If the pole of one player pierced the center of the ring he won. If neither pole passed into the hoop center that man won whose pole was in contact with the colored beads of his choice when the hoop stopped after rebounding from the log barrier. The game continued until one man either pierced the center hole with his pole or scored his declared point. Usually it was not necessary to roll the hoop more than twice before the winning point was scored. Each society had a judge stationed at each end of the course, to determine the winner.

Curtis (1928, vol. 18, p. 187) briefly mentioned the horse symbolism of beads in the hoop and pole games played between Blackfoot societies. He also claimed the beads might have represented guns or other objects taken from the enemy. If objects other than horses were symbolized, the several informants (both Piegan and Blood) who described this game to me did not know of that fact. Blackfoot traditions claim that the hoop and pole game was known to these Indians long before the introduction of horses. Elderly informants told the story of the game between Napi, the Blackfoot trickster and creator, and a Kutenai on the Oldman River in the dateless past. They played for control of the buffalo. Napi won, and "that is why there were no buffalo west of the Rockies." Certainly Thompson (1916, p. 359) reported the playing of the hoop and pole game by the Piegan before 1800, although he made no mention of horse symbolism in the hoop or of intersociety competitions. In my informants' youth many young men played hoop and pole simply as a gambling game. Such games were less formal than the intersociety contests. There was no counting of coups prior to play, and the contestants simply denoted their targets by the color names of the beads. It would appear that the introduction of horse symbolism into the intersociety hoop and

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 231 178 pole game was a historic modification of a game played by the Blackfoot before the introduction of horses.[72]

SHAM BATTLES

541 [648] In buffalo days Blackfoot warriors on horseback performed sham battles as entertainment for visiting Indians and important Whites. Sir Cecil Denny described the sham battle that followed the making of the Blackfoot Treaty in Canada in 1877, which was so realistic as to cause considerable trepidation among the white officials present.

> The Indians had been in a state of excitement all the morning, and while we were atending to our duties five or six hundred mounted warriors, stripped with the exception of a blanket round the loins and in war paint and feather headdresses, staged a mounted war-dance round our camp. These men armed with loaded Winchesters and on the dead run, circled the tents, their rifles exploding and the bullets whistling over our heads. The blood-curdling whoops accentuated the unpleasantness.
>
> They were only half in fun, and had fear been shown by us it is hard to tell what would have occurred; the sham battle might easily have become one of grim earnestness. [Denny, 1939, p. 117–118.]

Capt. W. P. Clark (1885, p. 68) witnessed a Piegan sham battle in the summer of 1881, which "consisted in circling, charging, shouting, firing of guns etc." Sham battles survived as spectacles in the summer Sun Dance encampments of the Piegan after the end of intertribal warfare. McClintock (1910, pp. 277–278) observed and described this mock warfare in the first decade of the present century.

Undoubtedly these dramatic displays afforded active warriors considerable personal satisfaction in showing off their best horses and their own skill as horsemen as well as their fine costumes and athletic ability. Sham battles were common to many, if not all of the Plains tribes as means of entertaining and impressing visiting Indians and Whites in buffalo days.[73]

[171] [648]

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[171] [72] Culin (1907, pp. 420–527) has indicated the very wide distribution of the hoop and pole game among the North American Indians, another suggestion of its antiquity. He does not mention horse symbolism in this game. Ferris (1940, pp. 94–95) said the Flathead employed a small hoop "two or three inches in diameter, having beads of various colors fastened to the inside" in their hoop and pole game prior to 1855. He did not mention the significance of the colored beads.

[73] The earliest reference I have found to a Plains Indian sham battle appears in Alexander Henry's account of his visit to the Mandan in the summer of 1806. "The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their courses along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. . . . On their arrival they performed their warlike maneuvers on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battle axe and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields" (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1., pp. 362–363). George Catlin was much impressed by the sham battles he witnessed during his travels among the Plains Indians. He described a sham battle executed by Crow warriors on their visit to the Hidatsa in the summer of 1832, and made a sketch of one of the participants in full dress mounted on a richly decorated horse. Two years later he saw a similar performance in the Comanche village visited by Col. Dodge's dragoons (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 191–193, pl. 76; vol. 2, pp. 65–66).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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Horse medicine was employed by some specialists to influence the outcome of horse races. The medicine was always used to handicap one of the competing horses, never to give a favored horse unusual speed or stamina. This use of horse medicine was always dangerous to the horse medicine man. If the owner of a horse that had lost a race learned that horse medicine had been used against his animal he might punish the medicine man severely if he learned his identity. Yet Wolf Calf, Generous Woman, Ghost Woman, and Head Carrier, the latter a North Piegan, were well known as persons who were notably successful in handicapping race horses through their horse medicine powers. Night Gun said that if the owner of a race horse came to Wolf Calf and asked him to use his medicine against his opponent's horse, Wolf Calf painted a rock with his medicine, prepared the ceremonial altar and placed his rawhide horse upon it. He asked the man, "What do you want to happen to the other horse? Do you want it to fly the track, buck, or kick up?" If the man wished the horse to fly the track, Wolf Calf placed the rock on the rawhide horse's head before continuing his ritual. If he wished it to buck, he placed it on the horse's shoulders; if he wanted it to run a short distance, kick up, and refuse to run, he put the rock on the horse's hind legs. Wolf Calf might also give the jockey of the horse belonging to the man he was helping a willow stick with horse medicine on it, with instructions to touch the other horse with this stick when he was alongside it in the race to make that horse drop behind. If the other horse gained the lead the jockey was to drop the stick in its tracks and that horse would surely falter. Informants credited both Head Carrier and Ghost Woman with use of the medicine-covered-stick method of influencing horse races.

789 526

Wolf Calf also was able to assist contestants in other sports. If a young man came to him for help in playing the hoop and pole game, Wolf Calf told him to shout a certain phrase when he cast his pole. His opponent's pole would be sure to strike the ground and break. Wolf Calf gave a foot racer who sought his aid some of his medicine and told him to chew it, rub it on his feet just before the race, always run to the right of his opponent, and he surely would win.

789 716

Horse medicine had a number of important uses in war. Wolf Calf sometimes was petitioned to help a young warrior in horse raiding. If Wolf Calf accepted the man's pipe and gift when offered, he gave him a plume from the ceremonial altar and explained, "If you can't get near the enemies' horses take this dirt (from the ceremonial altar) and mix it with water. Dip the plume in the mixture. It will rain, the enemy will stay inside their lodges and you will have no trouble taking their horses." Or he would give the man some plant medicine and tell him to rub it on his rope just before entering the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

recognized. A good race horse or a buffalo runner was worth several common pack animals. Consequently the best horses had a premium value in trades involving items other than horses. Even more subtle distinctions were made between the worth of two race horses or two buffalo horses. Wealthy men were expected to pay more dearly than were people of modest means.

Live horses were always more valuable to the Blackfoot than were dead ones. These Indians seldom killed horses for food, and then only in cases of dire necessity. The hide, hair, teeth, and other horse products made into useful articles were derived from animals which had died of accidental or natural causes. The number of these items was very restricted in comparison with the great variety of useful articles derived from buffalo.

INFLUENCE ON RECREATION

The prominent role of the horse in Blackfoot children's play during the Horse Culture Period mirrored the importance of that animal in the life of their parents at that time. Children's play of the Pedestrian Culture Period probably tended to imitate the serious activities of their elders, and so differed from that of later children. When boys made and played with wood, stone, or mud toy horses, or pretended to ride boldly on hobbyhorses; when girls "moved camp" with conventionalized stick horses equipped with miniature reproductions of riding and transport gear bearing miniature household equipment packaged and packed according to the custom of their culture, they were pleasantly and painlessly preparing themselves for more responsible participation in a culture in which management and use of horses were important aspects of daily life.

Horse racing probably replaced foot racing as the most popular sport of Blackfoot adults. Buffalo hunting, interband communications, and intertribal warfare in the Pedestrian Culture Period must have placed a premium upon physical stamina and speed of foot. The great Miniconjou chief, One Horn, bragged to Catlin of his former ability to run down a buffalo on foot and kill it with an arrow, as well as his record of having won every foot race he had entered (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p. 211). Yet the ability to run down a buffalo may have been fairly common in earlier times, when everyone hunted on foot. As late as the middle of the 19th century Denig (1930, p. 566) noted that next to being a good hunter and warrior men of the Upper Missouri tribes prized "the name of being a good runner (fast and long)." Foot racing survived among the historic Blackfoot in inter-society contests at the Sun Dance encampment, but horse racing surpassed it in popular interest. Stamina, a quality necessary to the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

buffalo horse, was the greatest asset of the race horse, for the course, as a rule, was a lengthy one. No other horse was as highly prized by the Blackfoot as was the winning racer.

Indirectly the horse influenced other forms of Blackfoot recreation. I have described (pp. 236–238) the introduction of horse symbolism into the intersociety hoop and pole game. The common employment of valuable horses as stakes in gambling must have encouraged interest in other games of chance even though the games themselves may have been known to the Blackfoot in earlier times.

INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL LIFE

During the Pedestrian Culture Period, when men literally stood on an equal footing, class distinctions must have been less marked than in historic times. The cooperative hunt was an organization of near equals in which the kill was equally divided among participating families. Limited transportation facilities inhibited the accumulation of property and militated against social stratification based upon wealth. Undoubtedly individuals who achieved outstanding war records or possessed supernatural powers to call the buffalo (beaver bundle owners), to cure the sick, or to perform acts of magic attained positions of distinction and leadership which ranked them above the average man.

After the introduction of horses permitted the accumulation of property, social status came to depend less upon a man's physical and mental qualities and more upon the number and quality of his possessions. A class system began to develop in which there were rich, middle-class, and poor families, distinguished primarily on the basis of their relative wealth or poverty in horses.

The rich man owned not only the most horses but generally the best ones as well. Wealth in horses permitted rich men to care for and use their animals so as to increase their numbers and enhance their value. Rich men owned the largest and best-furnished lodges, the finest clothing, and the most sacred and valuable medicine bundles. They also enjoyed certain privileges denied the other classes. They had the widest choice of mates in marriage and could take the most wives. They could even get away with murder by presenting horses to relatives of the deceased man. On the other hand, the rich man was expected to accept responsibilities which men of the other classes did not shoulder. He was expected to assist the poor through gifts of food and horses and loans of horses for buffalo hunting and moving camp. He was expected to be generous in his hospitality and liberal in his barter with others. Probably no one was more genuinely disliked by the majority of the Blackfoot than the stingy man of wealth.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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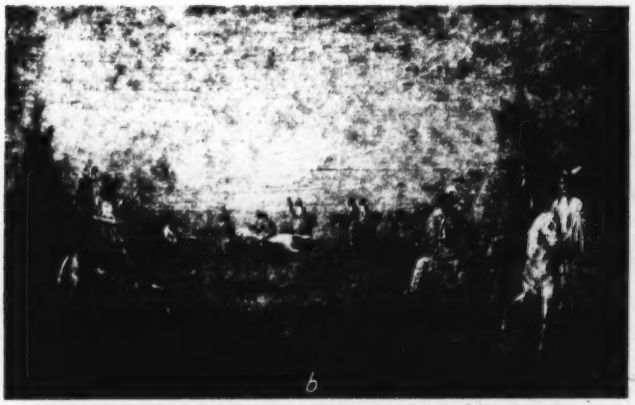

b

a, Beaded wheel and arrows used in the hoop and pole game, North Piegan. (Collected by R. N. Wilson in 1901. Chicago Museum of Natural History No. 69351.) b, Blackfoot horse race, June 1, 1848. (Painting by Paul Kane. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.)

[p. 358-L]

184 sample and appears closely related to income level. The care and
121 maintenance of these furnishings, however, is another matter and will
[511] be discussed later. Ownership of television sets and radios appears
[207] to depend more upon the availability of electricity than upon cultural
[377] factors or income. Sources of water, and the type of sanitation
[364] facilities appear to depend less upon cultural factors than they do
[312] upon where one lives and what sources of water or facilities for
sanitation are available.

[526] Because athletics have been a part of school and community
life for at least two generations, they may create interest or
[224] disinterest equally among the more-Indian and the more-white. Similarly,
[226] hunting and fishing are attractive to both Indian and white and are
engaged in as recreation rather than as a regular source of meat.

[524] Card playing has been widely accepted in the reservation
community and the fact of playing or not playing cards does not split
the population into orientation categories. The important thing about
card playing is not the playing but rather who plays with whom.

184 Other indices hold greater promise for differentiation. Items
177 concerning cultural orientation are most pertinent for the assessment
121 of degrees of acculturation. All of the population show the effects of
acculturation. Everyone, at least nominally, is a Christian; all live
in houses, wear predominantly western clothes, and gain their livelihood
in a wage economy. Almost everyone speaks some English. They buy their
food, clothing and other material wants from stores. It therefore
appears to be more useful to isolate variant retentions of some Blackfeet
cultural elements instead of attempting an assessment of the degree of
acceptance of white ways.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

177 Members of the sample and their friends were seen in attendance
184 at three rodeos held during the summer of 1960. It was possible to
541 conclude that the rodeo appealed to many people and that they turned
out on these occasions regardless of cultural orientation.

[602] The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appeared to be based on family and friendship ties. Families--parents, children, and grandchildren--sat together. People apart from their families sat with their friends. The cultural orientations appeared to operate in the smaller groupings that made up the larger crowd.

177 The sports events drew smaller numbers of people than did
184 the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance was similar.
526 One such event, an elementary school track meet, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described in a later section.

The track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children participated without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at Browning, out-of-doors, on a cold, blustery spring day. People of both
[602] orientations attended--parents, teachers and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and more difficult than the rodeo to assess in terms of informal family and friendship groups.

Social Occasions with Predominant Indian-Oriented Attendance

177 The social occasions at which it was observed that the partici-
184 pants and spectators were predominantly people of Indian orientation
541

177 In 1960, twenty-one (over one-third) of an eighth grade graduating
184 class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few
872 Indian-oriented adults could be seen in the audience.

177 The high school commencement held on the evening of the same
184 day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this
873 instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately one-fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement. Indian-oriented persons made up an estimated one-fifth of the audience, so the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the 1959 and 1961 graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the
[292] class valedictorian for that year was a full-blood boy. He had been seen dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit
[302] that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. The Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

177 Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunt and the Fishing
184 Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable
541 to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of
[526] the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the

177 previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences
184 in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented
541 parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way
[526] to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

The Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later--cold and windy Approximately five hundred children, from both Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding School were brought in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

[575] Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runners-up.

This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

The Fishing Derbies drew a much smaller crowd, approximately two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests were held at a

177 small lake adjacent to Highway No. 2 a few miles southwest of Browning.
184 An estimated one-third of the children taking part in these fishing
541 contests were from Indian-oriented families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

SemiPrivate and Private Interaction

177 In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic
184 club meetings and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate an almost complete white-oriented participation in these activities.

[575] Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school or political leadership. The selection factors in operation are many and complex but it is clear that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations; that these are areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

[526] The bowling alley was completed after the field work was
[529] finished, so the conclusions about its use are based on newspaper reports.[175] They indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a predominant white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and tournament play.

[574] Factors of social selection also work in private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and

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[175] Bowling news in The Glacier Reporter, op. cit., beginning with Vol. 30, No. 31, October 6, 1960, p. 6, and subsequent issues.

ried a young warrior named Scraping White, who already had one wife and three children. When Scraping White's oldest daughter saw her new little brother she told her mother, "I like my new brother—I want his name to be Napi." So he was called Napi, "Old Man." Many years later he took the name of his original father, Wolf Old Man. On the tribe records his name is Willie Scraping White, and it was by this name that he was called during the three years that he attended the Calgary Industrial School in the 1890s.

"No, I didn't get much schooling at that place," he once told us, "because the instructors thought that a fellow my size would be more use to them out in the fields than in the classroom. I'm glad," he said with a smile, "because I liked the outdoors much better than the insides of buildings." The Old Man speaks only very broken English and he never did learn to read or write. But he did become the school's star football player. He used to tuck his long braids up under his helmet. "When I came back to the reserve the kids wanted me to teach them how to play, and the girls sure admired me when I passed the ball a long ways," he said with a combined look of pride and embarrassment. He was usually too modest to tell of his personal accomplishments. Unfortunately, several accidents while playing football and ice hockey weakened his knees. "Better to have weak knees than a weak mind," he sometimes said to console himself. After three years in the school's fields he finally decided to ask how much longer he would have to stay. "I never knew that I was allowed to ask the principal such a question," he said, "so I felt pretty foolish when he told me that I was free to go whenever I wanted. I packed up pretty fast and left." He was also one of the first students at St. Paul's Anglican School, on the Blood Reserve, though he did not stay long.

The Old Man learned much about our Old Ways from his stepfather, Scraping White, who was Owner of many sacred Medicines and knew

[p.13-A]

159
Lighter's Staff, and the Blackfoot Rider's Staff. 852
[George only painted for some of these Bundles.] 778
In one day I took four Medicine hats. My face 425
was painted and wiped and then repainted again, [302]
four times, as I went through four ceremonies in one day. [He means that when he was young, four different Medicine headdresses were transferred to him in one day. Thus, his parents spoiled [855]
their only child in a socially acceptable way.]

My father's name was Dog Child. My mother's name was The Only Handsome Woman; her other name was Catching Another Horse, but she was never called by that name. She was one of three sisters, and her mother said she was the only handsome woman. So that became her name. My father's name used to be Singing Amongst, but he changed that. My name was given to me from the war deeds of my uncle, Striped Wolf. He was the first one to ride a horse taken from the enemy. So I got the name First Rider. I didn't have the same name with my father. [Most of our People today carry the names of former relatives as their inherited family names. But they also have one or more personal, Indian names by which they are referred to in the Blackfoot language.] 551 553 159

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I was born with long hair. My mother used 856
Indian perfume—boiled cedar needles—to wet [302]
my hair. That is why I got long hair.

I must have been about five years old when I [824]
was able to go riding on my own.

159
When I was a little boy I was taken to the [857]
Holy Lodge. I had two grandmothers [older female [852]
relatives, not necessarily biological grandmothers]. [602]
They each one gave me a Sun Dance necklace, [431]
my childhood property. I must have been eight years old when a horned Medicine headdress was given to me.

When I was thirteen years old I started riding 883
racehorses. I was sixteen years old when I started 526
to learn bronc riding. But soon my father made 159
me quit. He said, "There is no future in it. It is [829]
the white man's life. An Indian will compete in a

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rodeo but he will never be given the prize money."

[829]
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One day a priest came to our place. He told my father, "Your son is a big boy now. He should go to school." My father told the priest, "I love my son. He is not going to school. If I put my son in school, the white men will teach him bad habits. They will teach him to drink whiskey and to steal and to cheat a person and how to gossip about people." The priest told my father, "In the future, people will all talk English and your son will be the only one that will not speak English." My father told the priest, "Our Indian life is not going to be extinct just yet. I am still standing on my Indian life, so my son will not be educated in the school." So that is why I didn't go to school.

[829]
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[407]
[426]
[493]
[231]

I was a farmer. I had all the farm implements —a seeder, a plow, a binder, a cultivator, and a harrow. I didn't borrow these things because I knew the People didn't like me and wouldn't lend me anything. I bought what I needed. I had seven big wagons, two democrats [light wagons with seats], and a lot of workhorses.

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[273]

Then a bad habit came to me. I started drinking. My life was lonely. I stole a lot of things. I broke into a store and I stole tobacco and forty bottles of lemon extract [a popular and cheap substitute for liquor]. I stole and sold more than five hundred horses. I stole horses from the Blackfoot Reserve, from the North Piegan Reserve, and from the Blood Indians. The horses I didn't sell I slaughtered, and sold their skins. I would slip a rope around the horse's neck, then put a half-hitch around the nose over the nostrils and finally wrap the end of the same rope around the horse's hind legs. As the horse kicked, the rope tightened around its nose, and it suffocated itself. A suffocated horse stiffens up quickly. I skinned the horse and sold the hide for money to spend on liquor.

I sold stolen cattle and wheat. Stealing wheat, that was easy. I simply backed my wagon up to

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

727 535 little more than a march in quick time, to the music of a song peculiar to the dance. Where the number of dancers is considerable several rings are formed in different parts of the tent and the dance is frequently kept up with intervals of rest for twelve or fourteen days.

HAIR

302 The Blackfeet take no care of the hair, never combing it, braiding it, or gathernig it in knots as is the custom with some tribes. Neither did they part it nor paint the [765] head. It was permitted by both sexes to grow to its full [142] length, reaching usually to the shoulders, except when in mourning, when the hair was cut off close to the head. In color it was usually a jet black, though sometimes in the young it had a light, grayish color, afterward changing to the invariable black of mature years. It was coarse and always dirty.

PHYSIQUE

142 147 [141] [524] The men were rather above the usual height, generally approaching and often exceeding six feet, well proportioned, active and hardy, but not more than ordinarily strong. They practiced no athletic exercises and the indolent life they led when not upon the war path or engaged in the chase were not conducive to great bodily strength.

181 They possessed an intelligent countenance free from vindictiveness or bloodthirstiness, reasonably good-looking, manly and often noble. In character they were good-humored, candid and truthful, honest among themselves but less so with strangers, talkative, fond of story-telling, easily excited to laughter, less inclined to conceal the emotions than most Indians, friendly to their fellows, and [727] affectionate to their wives and children. The returning warrior is always met with kisses and embraces by his female relatives, which he does not disdain to receive, and the father of a family is often to be seen playing with his children and apparently greatly enjoying their childish [854] sports. It should be remarked, however, that with children through the nursing period they have nothing to do, leaving them wholly to the squaws.

37: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

532 342 were snake-painted tipis among three of the four major divisions of the Blackfoot – the South Piegan (in Montana), and the North Piegan and Blood (in Canada), while the North Blackfoot had a Big Snake (rattlesnake) tipi. He also described one of these tipis (Wissler 1912: 220-22, 337-38).

[123] Ninety-five years after the unnamed Blackfoot artist pictured a snake-painted tipi, I saw one of them, then owned by Yellow Kidney and his wife, in the sun dance encampment near Browning. The snakes' heads were painted red, and their bodies were alternating blocks of red and green, zig-zagging around the tipi cover against a white background – much as they are pictured by the Blackfoot artist in 1847. The bottom portion of the tipi cover was also painted red with white discs, and three horizontal red bands were painted at the top of the white background of the central portion – as in the earlier artist's rendering. The upper portion (representing the night sky) was painted black, although the small discs within that area (representing stars) were green on the Yellow Kidney tipi, [178] whereas they are white in the artist's version of the snake-painted tipi. It is significant that the design of this painted tipi changed very little over a period of a century, during which it must have been repainted many times on new lodge covers of buffalo cow skin and more recently of white cloth, or canvas.

532 776 The crescent-shaped moon (in black) and circular sun (orange) appearing in the left center of the artist's work must be intended to show that Sun and Moon were major supernaturals recognized by the Blackfoot. In the tribal mythology 821 Moon is considered to be Sun's wife, and Morning Star was their son. This [773] relationship is repeatedly referred to in such well-known Blackfoot myths as [796] Scar Face, and The Fixed Star (or The Woman Who Married a Star) – myths [178] which account for the origin of the sun dance, and the symbolism of the sacred digging stick carried by the medicine woman in that most important tribal religious ceremony (Wissler and Duvall 1908: 58-68). On some of the dry-painting altars employed in Blackfoot ceremonies the moon is represented in black paint as in the artist's drawing. But on the sun dance altar it is yellow, with a narrow black center. It is always portrayed as a crescent (Wissler 1912: 254-57).

532 825 This leaves only the small panel at the bottom left of the plate to be interpreted. Perhaps the artist chose to picture the pair of antelopes as a further [776] indication of the variety of sources of supernatural power known to the Blackfoot. The antelope might, of course, have been the artist's own supernatural helper. The Blackfoot knew the antelope as the swiftest of the larger mammals on the plains. Antelope power provided a war medicine. [526] Contenders in the foot races between members of the different men's societies [575] during the summer sun dance encampments also wanted antelope power to enhance their swiftness afoot.

178 [123] I was privileged to live among the Blackfoot Indians in Montana for three and one-half years (1941-1944) nearly a century after Father Point first brought the [797] teachings of Christianity to those Indians. Blackfoot life and culture had [144] changed markedly during the intervening years. By the early 1940s less than 20%

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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17. A'istamaiàkitsapanistsitapiau, áuaiàkitsipix'ksitapiau, ki pix'ksítapiiks áistamsakapòiau, ki itá'xkanaiksistsepùyiau. Ki omíksi stsíkiks túkskama áistamatòmipiksiu. Istsísìninsi omí pokún, ákstamoxtòkskàsiu. I'tòmipùyiu istsitápsketsimàsi omí pokúni, mátaksaksiu. Ki omá stsíki ákstomáxkàtsipiksiu. Ki íkamitakiàsi omí pokún, ki ákstamoxkatòkskàsiu. Ki omá stsíki ákstamatomatapòmaxkau. Ki omíma stsíkiuna ákstamatsitotaipiu. Omá matstsík áistamatsipiksiu. I'x'tsaiísìniasi omí pokúni, niuókskaipiksiu, ki áksàksiu. Stsíka ákoxkatsitsipiksiu. Stákyàs omí pokúni, ki omá istsík ítomaipiksiu ákitskotaxkyàpomaxkau. Ki amóksi áipiksiks ákoxkètoxtsoàisakapòiau. Ki omíksi stsíkiks ákoxkètoxtsoaipiksìau. Tákskama áistamatòmipiksiu. Istsisíninsi omí pokún, ákstamoxtòkskàsiu. Ikamítsiisketsimotsìniki omí pokún, ki áksaksiu. Ki omá istsík ikamítsaiisìnias omí pokúni, stókamotspuxpìis, ikamítsikanyòtoaxkiaie, ki áksaksiu. Ki istsíki mátsitaiapiksiu. Ki ikamítsaiisìninasaie, aisapánnistsèpiksis, ki omá áikanyòtakiu istsísiniòtoasaie, ki áksaksiu. Ki ákstamiokskamisàksiks. Ki ákstamataxtsoaisakapòiau. Ki omíksi ákstamataxtsoaipuxsapùiau. Ki omíksi stsíkiks ikámitsiiukskàs otókskasoàists, ki ánniksaie akomótsakiau. Kánni.

17. [Base-ball.] They are even on both sides, they are nine on each side, and nine go out to the field, and they all get ready. And one of those others takes the first strike. If he hits the ball [with the bat], he will run first. If the first runner beats the ball, then he will not be out. And the second will strike. And if he hits the ball, then he will run. And the other one runs the second time. And the other [base] will get to it. Then the third one will strike. If he does not hit the ball, he strikes three times, and he will be out. Another [fellow] will strike. If he hits the ball, then the other one, [that] struck first, will get back to the home-base. And these strikers will go out to the field. And the others will come in and strike. One of them will strike first. If he hits the ball, he will run. If the ball gets ahead of him, then he will be out. And if the next [striker] does not hit the ball, if it goes straight up in the air, if somebody catches it, then he will be out. And the next one strikes. And if he does not hit it, if he has completed his [three] strikes, and if the catcher catches it, then he will be out. And there will be three out. And they will go back out to the field. And the others will come back to strike. And if those others [that were out last] have run their [three] runs, then they will win the game. And that is all.

18. Omí itáksinimatsistoχkiòpi nitsítaikoan. Nimátsitaikaχtspinan ponokấmitâχsistsìks. Nitsítaisketsimàiau. Kepúi nitsíkoputo itómanistsàpiksistakìua, kánnaie amótsàkiu. Ikæmítsapapiksistasi omí âχsistsíni, áisitokstakiu. Ki ikæmítapapitâχpiisi, túkskæma niuókskai iχ́táukstakiop. Ki áipusi áitsikopùtosi, ki itáumotsakiop.

18. [Horse-shoes.] [When I was] at school, I played. We played a game with horse-shoes. I beat them [the other fellows]. The first one that counts up to eleven, that is the one that wins the game. If he throws the horse-shoe into the stake, it counts five. And if it leans against the stake, we count one [horse-shoe] three. And when [we have] eleven, then we win the game. 539 526

19. Nitániko Ápssùyi. Nisótæmoχtsinapò, nisótæmoχtsoau âχké. Nisótæmitoto nokúnan. Nisótæmapàsæmau ponokấmitaiks. Nisotáminau nótùs, nitsitaiáketoau, nitsítæmiùupatau, ki nitaiáksekakì. Nitsítomatomàχk, ki itáskokskàsin okós. Nitsítsisauàket, nitsítoχkomatàu, nitsítaukskasatsau. Ki nitsiksístoχkotau naχkaié akéu annístskaie káiisau. Nisótæmamitomaχk. Nitsítaistsipisau nótàsi, ki nitsítsekak, ki itsekániχ́kuyìu nokítsis. Nisótæmamitskoau. Nisótæmitòto nitopíχ́kanokoa, ki itsítstakiua pistáχkan nokítsis. Istsísksipisiauaie. Nisótæmæsistsimau nokítsisau.

19. [Kicked by a mare.] I am called White-whiskers. I went down, I then went through the water. I went to our ranch. I was looking for the horses. Then I caught my horse [a mare], I saddled her, I got on her, and she was trying to kick me. I then started, and her colt ran back. I got on the other horse, I started to drive her [the mare I rode first], I started to chase her. And I gave some dried meat to a certain woman [literally: to a woman, that there was]. Then I went up. I started to whip my horse [the mare], and she kicked me, and she kicked my finger hitting it exactly. I drove her up. Then I came to my tent, and he [my step-father] put tobacco on my finger. They tied it up. I then washed my finger. 539 231 [752]

20. Itauátsimoiχ́kàupi. Aitsipísau, áistæmâχkannaupistoksisanòpian ki itáiksinoχsìau. Itáumatapatsìmoiχ́kaiau. Ki itáipim omák natoápiapìkoan, ki itau-

20. Church. When they enter, they all kneel down and make the sign of the cross. They begin to pray. And then the priest enters, and he begins to pray. 539 796

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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This happened the first year they had the Calgary Stampede. The officials of the event invited several tribes of Canadian Indians to attend, and among those who accepted the invitation were Using Belt and his partner, two elderly Blood Indians from Cardston.

During the Stampede, a young White athlete from Calgary issued an open challenge to Whites and Indians alike to race against him over a distance of one quarter of a mile. No one would accept the challenge, so some White men began openly to challenge the Indians. They asked the Indians who the fastest runner amongst them was, and they all answered with the name of Using Belt.

Although Using Belt was an exceptionally well-muscled man, he was by no means a youngster, but the White men thought that it would be a good joke to see this old Indian run against their finest athlete. They told Using Belt that if he would run against the White boy they would give him one hundred dollars even if he lost, so finally Using Belt agreed to run.

The White men offered to lend Using Belt a pair of track shoes, but he refused to accept them. He said, "I was not born with track shoes on my feet. I will run the way I was born—with bare feet."

At this time the Indian interpreter for the Mounties was a man named DeRouche. Through DeRouche the sergeant in charge of the Mounties asked Using Belt whether he really thought he could defeat the young White athlete in a race. Using Belt said, "I am not running this race in order to lose. Compared to me this White boy is a mere baby. I will beat him."

The race began, and at first the White boy ran easily ahead of Using Belt, sort of jumping around and making fun of the old Indian. Then, after they had gone about one hundred yards, Using Belt slapped himself on the thigh and immediately began to run very fast. The White athlete began to run in earnest now, but Using Belt slapped his thigh again and again and he won the race by a considerable margin. Beyond the finishline of the racecourse was a tall board fence. At the end of the race Using Belt did not stop running but continued to go at full speed until he ran right into the board fence and was knocked

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

526 backward and lay stunned upon the ground. It took a few minutes for him to come around, but he was not injured.

The betting on the race had been very heavy. The odds had been heavily in favor of the White man, and the Indians had all bet on Using Belt. But now the Whites refused to pay off. They said that Using Belt could not have run that fast unless he had used some sort of medicine [a stimulant].

The Indians called the Mountie sergeant, and when the sergeant questioned Using Belt, Using Belt said, "No, I did not take any medicine. When you want a horse to run fast, you whip him; when I was running in the race I became a horse and so I whipped myself, and there is no rule against whipping a horse in a race. I won the race fair and square."

So the Mounties made the Whites pay off on the bets, and the Indians made a lot of money. Using Belt, who had bet everything he owned, won $600.00. Most of the other Indians who had won money on the race came over and gave Using Belt a share of their winnings, so altogether he had close to $1000.00.

My attempt to obtain additional verification of Using Belt's unusual achievements brought me into correspondence with Mr. Fred Kennedy, Publicity Executive of the now famous Calgary Stampede. Mr. Kennedy was kind enough to reply to my inquiries, that portion of his letter bearing upon the issue at hand reading as follows:

"On the question of the foot races between the Indian runner and several Calgary athletes in the old days, the following may be helpful. These match races had nothing to do with the Calgary Stampede. As a matter of fact they were held many years ahead of the first Stampede in 1912. This Indian was either a Blood from Cardston or a Black Foot from Gleichen, and my understanding is that he was never beaten in these matched races, over long distances of ground."

124 Usually I have to lead the Chief into recitations of his personal warpath experiences, but this evening, without the slightest nudge from me, the old-timer followed the story of Using Belt with two pages from his own calendar of coups. These were *good* stories.

721 THE BLACKFOOT TEA PARTY

This happened while we were camped on the Belly River, in Canada. About sixty of us young men had a meeting down at

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings about one another and attempt to discourage external relations. 562 Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
593 strained relations between brother and sister to the aggressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the rough and tumble of parental marital crises and intercultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and, therefore, they select activities that they do well. What the young man does well has to do with his general back-
[541] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally connected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

524 barrel" for practice and sport. Little boys whose fathers have not owned a horse in years practice and play by the
526 hour on this device. Others, without horses or livestock, turn to track and field, a sport that is quite popular on
[555] the Reserve. The attraction of this selection is the recognition gained during the annual athletic "field days" at Stand-off and Moses Lake. Other activities for the non-equestrian young man are basketball, softball, baseball, or hockey. All are viewed as the white-man activities, and command a limited but interested following. Each of the schools on the Reserve fields teams in these sports. Among the sample members there are two excellent basketball players, a few baseball and softball players, and a number of hockey enthusiasts. Related to these white-man sports is boxing. As can be seen from the popularity of this sport as a "favorite" among the young men, it is another
[555] important athletic activity. Finally, some of the young men who do not excel at any of the sports strive to gain recognition in some other ways, often in their studies.

Summary of the Life History

159 The young man of the Blood Reserve can be seen as a vigorous individualist who orients himself toward personal achievement and self gratification. However, he relates this achievement to his acceptance by his peers or to feel-

461 above, we may expect to find being inside associated with a loss of prestige or self esteem, and, conversely, we may expect to find being outside and active associated with self esteem and recognition.

Here too, in the tabulation of reasons and rationalisations for the negative choices in regard to these two I.A.'s, Store Keeper and Cook-Baker, it is notable that knowledge (what one learns) is discussed more than experience (what one can do). Thus, even in the negative sense, those occupations that find their sources in non-Indian culture are learned, and those related to the Indian community are experienced.

526 461 Boxing.--There are, however, exceptions among the rejects. Bartending is one, and so is the next I.A. to be discussed, Boxing. Boxing is a very interesting activity. On the one hand 52% of the sample reject it, 21 out of 32 responses. On the other, 11 informants select Boxing as a favorite. Thus it is one of the activities that is differentially viewed by the sample as a whole. (The other such I.A. is Office Worker, which will be discussed at the beginning of the next chapter.)

In its positive aspect, Boxing is seen in much the same light as Bronc Riding. Seven times informants indicate that they believe it is good. Amplifying this unspecific reason they say that it is exciting (6 statements), and

461 that it is something that they can do on the basis of
526 previous experience (6 statements). Boxing is called healthy (4 statements) and active (4 statements). It is also seen as a vehicle to recognition (3 statements). Interestingly, reluctance to accept Boxing is justified on the grounds of previous knowledge (2 statements).

Rejections focus on personal injury or disfigurement (16 statements). Lack of experience is another reason for rejecting Boxing (6 statements). Specific damage to one's physical appearance is also cited (5 statements), as is the idea that Boxing is "bad" (4 statements). Boxing is called frightening, unhealthy, and overly aggressive three times each. Ambivalence toward rejection is expressed in terms of having previous experience or having some kind of recognition (2 statements each).

541 Boxing contrasts sharply with Bronc Riding. De-
526 spite sharing the attributes of excitement and experiential
461 understanding, they are alike in their most frequent reason for rejection: personal injury and lack of experience. Neither activity is primarily of the "learned" variety. Despite these similarities, Boxing and Bronc Riding are diametrically opposed to one another in general evaluation. Fifty-two per cent of the young Blood interviewed selected Bronc Riding among the generally acceptable, while fifty-

541 two per cent of the interviewees rejected Boxing. This dis-
526 tribution on the general level contrasts with the distribu-
461 tion of favorites. Bronc Riding was the fourth favorite, and Boxing was the eighth. On the basis of such a distribution it may be concluded that, although there are areas of similarity between the two, there are also aspects of dissimilarity which may be of some importance to the delineation of young Blood instrumental values. This can best be illustrated by comparing quotations.

(Br. R.) Well, I used to ride saddle Bronc a few years ago. (Question--Why?) It's the excitement of the game. The sport. It's a rough sport, a challenge.

(Boxer) I fought for about ten years, amateur and pro. . . . I haven't really quit. It's gettin' too rough since I turned pro. I box whenever I get the chance.

"Sport" appears to be the important word in the relationship between the two activities. Some further examples may indicate the nature of the relationship.

(Br. R.) I've done a lot of bronc riding and I like the sport. I've made some money at it and I hope to make some more. I guess it's the one sport I really like. It's just the sport of it and the money.

and,

(Br. R.) OK. Just for free time. Just for sport. Not to take it serious.

or,

(Boxer) It's my sport. (Question--Why?) I just like it for a sport.

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or more explicitly,

(Boxer) Boxing runs in my family. All my uncles are boxers. I hoped to be one. I started once but I failed to finish because of physical disability. It keeps your mind occupied, and it can be profitable if you train hard. I like activities. I don't like sitting around like some other guys. I learned a little judo, boxing, wrestling. I like sports. Indians are sportsmen. I like participating.

(Boxer) When I was going to boarding school that was the main sport. I boxed only a few fights, but I like it. It teaches a guy self-defense and keeps him in top shape.

and, to return to Bronc Riding:

(Br. R.) Get in shape, won't get old pretty fast. (Question--Rodeo?) I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride.

These selected quotations illustrate other levels of similarity between the activities. Both are considered "sports" which seems to imply a contest or a form of competition. Both are considered appropriately popular activities among the young Indian group. And, they are both seen as potentially profitable. Why then the discrepancy in popularity?

The difference between the two is alluded to in the preceding quotations, "Just for sport. Not to take it serious." "I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride." Bronc Riding has an applied and less formal competitive nature than does Boxing, and it relates to a primary popular concern of the Blood Reserve, ranching.

461 (Brand.) When you're living on a ranch you do that every year. It's a lot of fun doing that.

(Calf R.) It's, I like to be a roper. I'm not a roper but I like to do it. You have to learn it on a ranch.

(Br. R.) You have to break your own horses. You have to have saddle horses. We break our own. I'm not in the rodeo or anything like that. (Question--Compare Bronco Riding and Haying.) I like to tame horses. You can put a lot of pride in what you're doing. I like training them too. (Question--Compare as jobs.) Haying. You make money on that. Too many bronc riders on the Reserve.

[541] Although all of the young Blood would not view the relationship between stockman and bronc busting in the same light, it is felt that this is an apt characterization of the connection between the competitive rodeo aspect of Bronc Riding and its applied aspect. This correlation between applied and competitive sides does not apply to Boxing. Boxing, in order to reap the rewards of recognition and money, must be practiced in its most formal and competitive sense. As noted earlier, Boxing and Bronc Riding are both potentially injurious. However, Boxing implies, "Get a big nose and all kinds of bumps on your head. . . . too rough!" whereas Bronc Riding's injuries come only (?) to the inexperienced practitioner. Both activities indicate a desire on the part of the young Blood to master something: an animal or another human being. Both activities indicate a desire to stay in physical good health. However, Boxing

524 541 461

526 implies injury or disfigurement. This aspect does not fit
541 in well with the young Blood desire to appear healthy and
461 successful. Again, both activities are in some way competitive and exciting, but Boxing is the more formal, the more demanding, the more rigorous in contrast to the casualness of Bronc Riding. Formality and commitment do not fit well with the free and leisurely aspects of the generally valued
526 stock raising activities. Finally, Boxing demands a certain
461 amount of overt aggression against another person.

> (Boxer) I never was interested in that. I never liked to fight other people. Maybe you get a weak opponent, you beat hell out of him, you get nothing for it. Maybe if I was a professional, get paid well for it . . . well . . . ?

To this young Blood, and by implication to many of his peers, violence for its own sake is not rewarding, ". . . you get nothing for it." He can only accept such violence if he gets paid well for it. Thus it is not the aggressive nature of Boxing that is rewarding, but rather what one can get for it. What one can get for or from Boxing must be weighed against its disabilities. Boxing is not part of the casual yet rewarding stock raising complex. It is injurious, and it is formal and demanding. It is violent, violent toward other people. These disabilities contravene several aspects of what has been tentatively identified as Blood values. In Blood terms Boxing has

526 461 neither applied or experiential significance; only one young man said he liked getting hit. It is rather a devious road to becoming the healthy and attractive successful man. Like Bartending it involves one in brawling and unfriendliness, and, despite its potentiality for gaining recognition, how can it procure social rewards from an unfriendly community? Thus, for the general Blood populace, Boxing is rejected on the general level. However, for some few, in this case one-fourth of the sample, it is a prized favorite. In large degree, then, the dichotomous distribution of Boxing is a continuing reflection of the young Blood's practical assessment of "what can the activity do for me?"

Summary

461 [181] The research summarized in this chapter has established, first, the stock-handling complex of instrumental values and, secondly, the primacy of practicality as a criterion for choice or rejection of instrumental activities. It was indicated in regard to Branding-Ranching and Bronc Riding that there is a general valuation among the young Blood of activities associated with horsemanship or the cowboy kind of life. More than half the sample selected this kind of activity as desirable; sixty-five per cent selected Ranching and fifty-two per cent the more dangerous Bronc Riding. This would indicate a strong preference for these activities.

181 178 175 "Handsome-man" of the Blood indicate a continuation of these attitudes from the beginning of the nineteenth century through to the latter part of the century.[A] Indeed, the most important bit of evidence in this regard is the story of the murder-suicide as a result of competition in the hand game.[B] 175 157 [525] [178] Also, as indicated by this episode, gambling had been a Blood-Blackfoot trait for a considerable period of time. This lends more support to the idea of continuity, and to the proposition that sporting competition was an early and [526] continuing feature of the daily lives of the Indians of the northern plains. This contention derives much support from ethnographic evidence, in that almost all adult games [525] recorded were competitive rather than diversionary.[1] Thus the gambling incident was not unusual, despite Schultz' contention to the contrary, and the kind of gambling that leaves a man destitute and ashamed indicates a strong bent toward competition.

181 178 461 This kind of competition would seem to conflict with the contemporary value of avoiding direct and disruptive competition as illustrated in the disvalue of the activity Boxing. However, it is asserted that this is merely one of the contradictory demands placed upon the individual by many cultures. This contradiction can be seen in the past in the demands of the community in warfare and horse stealing and the needs of the individual. It can be seen in the present

A, [See Category 175, pp. 168-170--Analyst]
B, [See Category 525, pp. 172-174--Analyst]